

Message Text

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PAGE 01 HELSIN 01321 191144 Z

42

ACTION EUR-25

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INFO SECDEF WASHDC

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C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 1321

E. O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: CSCE: HUMAN CONTACTS ISSUE - MAY 18 DISCUSSIONS.

REF: HELSINKI 1303

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN DRAFTING GROUP AND WORKING GROUP MEETINGS, MOST ALLIES INDICATED GENERAL ACCEPTABILITY OF THE TWO NEW SOVIET TEXTS TABLED PREVIOUS DAY: REFERENCE TO PRINCIPLES IN OVERALL INTRODUCTION TO THIS MANDATE, AND PROPOSED REVISION TO INTRODUCTORY PORTION OF HUMAN CONTACTS SUB- SECTION. HOWEVER, SEVERAL IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES REMAIN (DETAILS BELOW). PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS OVER WEEKEND MAY FURTHER REDUCE GAP BETWEEN SOVIET AND WESTERN POSITIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING NATO CAUCUS MORNING OF MAY 18, ALL DELEGATES, EXCEPT DUTCH AND ITALIANS, INDICATED THAT NEW SOVIET TEXTS WERE ACCEPTABLE TO THEM. DUTCH FELT SOVIET AMENDMENT TO SUBCOMMITTEE MANDATE ON HUMAN CONTACTS IS TOO RESTRICTIVE IN ITS THRUST, WHILE ITALIANS FAVORED HOLDING OUT FOR TACTICAL REASONS IN HOPES OF STRIKING A BETTER BARGAIN LATER.

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PAGE 02 HELSIN 01321 191144 Z

2. AT NATO CAUCUS AND SUBSEQUENT DRAFTING GROUP AND WORKING GROUP MEETINGS, IT EMERGED THAT SOME ALLIES SEE LINGUISTIC AND OTHER PROBLEMS IN SOVIET TEXTS THAT OVERLAP WITH CERTAIN BASKET I FORMULATIONS. THEY ALSO PRESSED FOR LANGUAGE IN OTHER SECTIONS OF HUMAN CONTACTS MANDATE THAT SOVIETS FOUND UNPALATABLE. PROBLEM IS COMPLICATED BY FACT THAT BASIC ELEMENT OF SOVIET INSTRUCTIONS APPEARS TO BE ACCEPTANCE OF ORIGINAL SPANISH DRAFT ON HUMAN CONTACTS (HELSINKI 1117). HOWEVER, WHILE MOSCOW WAS CONSIDERING MATTER, SPANIARDS TABLED A NEW TEXT MORE IN LINE WITH WESTERN THINKING BUT CONTAINING PHRASEOLOGY OBJECTIONALBE TO SOVIETS.

3. FOLLOWING SPECIFIC POINTS OF DIFFICULTY HAVE ARISEN:

A. SOVIETS PREFER WORDING OF FIRST SENTENCE OF ORIGINAL SPANISH DRAFT ON HUMAN CONTACTS (" EXAMINE WAYS AND MEANS TO FACILITATE ETC."), WHILE MANY ALLIES PREFER NEW SPANISH WORDING IN THIS SENTENCE (" WORK OUT NEW WAYS AND MEANS ETC.").

B. ORIGINAL SPANISH DRAFT REFERS, IN SUB- PARA (B), ONLY TO TRAVEL " BETWEEN PARTICIPATING STATES," WHICH HAS BEEN TRANSLATED INTO RUSSIAN BY SECRETARIAT AS " FROM ONE PARTICIPATING STATE TO ANOTHER." NEW SPANISH TEXT CONTAINS LANGUAGE WHICH SPEAKS OF TRAVEL " BETWEEN AND WITHIN PARTICIPATING STATES," WHICH BRITISH AND OTHERS STRONGLY PREFER. (US INFORMALLY SUGGESTED COMPROMISE TO BRITISH AND OTHER ALLIES WHICH WOULD ENTAIL DELETION OF WORDS, " BETWEEN AND WITHIN PARTICIPATING STATES," SO THAT CLAUSE IN QUESTION WOULD READ SIMPLY " TRAVEL FOR PERSONAL OR PROFESSIONAL REASONS." THIS MAY ULTIMATELY PROVE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL).

C. SOVIET DRAFT SENTENCE IN OVERALL INTRODUCTION TO BASKET III MANDATE USES PHRASEOLOGY THAT TRANSLATES AS " PRINCIPLES GOVERNING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES," WHILE COMPARABLE RUSSIAN WORD IN BASKET I TEXT IS CLOSER TO THE ENGLISH " GUIDING." BRITISH INSIST THAT RUSSIAN VERSION IN BASKET III SHOULD CONFORM TO THAT ALREADY ACCEPTED IN BASKET I. SEVERAL OTHER SEMANTIC AND TRANSLATION POINTS AROSE, BUT THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO BECOME SERIOUS STUMBLING BLOCKS.

4. ALL OF THESE ISSUES WERE RAISED IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER DURING
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PAGE 03 HELSIN 01321 191144 Z

DRAFTING GROUP AND WORKING GROUP MEETINGS MORNING OF MAY 18, WITH BRITISH IN THE LEAD ON NATO SIDE. ZORIN, HOWEVER, REJECTED ANY CHANGES IN THE TWO SOVIET PROPOSED AMENDMENTS AND ANY SIGNIFICANT MODIFICATION IN THE ORIGINAL SPANISH VERSION OF THE HUMAN CONTACTS SUB- MANDATE. HE REITERATED (IN FAIRLY MODERATE TERMS BY HIS STANDARDS) HIS MAY 17 INSISTENCE THAT COMPROMISE RESTED ON WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET PACKAGE AS A WHOLE,

SUGGESTING THAT CONINUED EFFORTS TO BARGAIN RISKED COLLAPSE OF COMRPOMISE EFFORTS. HE LEFT HIMSELF A RETREAT, HOWEVER, BY PREFACING HIS REJECTION WITH STATEMENT THAT HIS REMARKS WERE PRELIMINARY.

5. ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON, BRITISH HAD BEGUN TO SUGGEST PRIVATELY TO OTHER ALLIES (WITH US ENCOURAGEMENT) PACKAGE DEAL THAT SHOULD GIVE SOVIETS SUBSTANTIAL SATISFACTION AND BE ACCEPTABLE TO MOST ALLIES. BRITISH SUGGESTIONS PRESUMABLY WILL BE DISCUSSED AT NATO CAUCUS MONDAY MORNING, PRIOR TO WORKING GROUP MEETING. MEANWHILE SMALL NATO DRAFTING GROUP BEGAN MEETINGS, BASED ON INFORMAL DRAFTS PREPARED BY US DEL, TO WORK OUT COMPROMISE FORMULATIONS ON REMAINING THREE SUBSECTIONS OF BASKET 3 MANDATE: CULTURE, EDUCATION AND INFORMATION.

6. COMMENT: IF SOVIETS CAN SHOW SOME FLEXIBILITY (DESPITE ZORIN' S ASSERTIONS TO THE CONTRARY), BASKET III INTRODUCTION AND SUBCOMMITTEE MANDATE ON HUMAN CONTACTS COULD BE RESOLVED EARLY NEXT WEEK. IF SOVIETS REMAIN ADAMANT (AND ONE SOV DEL OFFICER TOLD FRG THAT COMPROMISE FORMULA HAD BEEN APPROVED BY BREZHNEV PERSONALLY), AGREEMENT MAY TAKE A BIT LONGER.
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